

Message Text

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PAGE 01 BERLIN 05644 01 OF 02 310631Z
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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 BERLIN 5644

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TAGS: PFOR GE HU
SUBJ: NEW GDR-HUNGARIAN TREATY
REF: BERLIN 5587

SUMMARY: THE RECENT VISIT OF HUNGARIAN PARTY CHIEF
KADAR TO EAST BERLIN WAS CAPPED BY THE SIGNATURE OF A
NEW GDR-HUNGARIAN TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP MODELED IN PART
ON THE GDR-SOVIET TREATY OF 1975 AND REPLACING A 1967
TREATY WHICH CONTAINED SOME OFFENSIVE LANGUAGE ON BERLIN
AND ON THE FRG. THE NEW TREATY FOLLOWS THE LANGUAGE
OF THE 1975 GDR-SOVIET TREATY IN CALL FOR "DEVELOPMENT
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PAGE 02 BERLIN 05644 01 OF 02 310631Z

OF (EASTERN) TIES WITH WEST BERLIN" AND REPLACES
REFERENCES IN THE 1967 TREATY TO "WEST GERMAN
MILITARIST AND REVANCHIST CIRCLES" WITH A MORE GENERAL
REFERENCE TO CIRCLES "IN THE WEST" WHICH ARE
BENT ON SPOILING THE ATMOSPHERE FOR DETENTE. IT APPEARS
DOUBTFUL THAT THE TREATY BREAKS MUCH NEW GROUND IN GDR-
HUNGARIAN RELATIONS. IT SEEMS RATHER INTENDED

TO BOLSTER THE GDR'S IMAGE AS AN INDEPENDENT COUNTRY IN THE CSCE CONTEXT AND VIS-A-VIS THE FRG. REFERENCES IN THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE AND IN THE SPEECHES DURING THE KADAR VISIT ARE POSITIVE ON SOVIET-US RELATIONS AND EXPRESS HOPE THAT THE TWO COUNTRIES WILL AGREE IN THE SALT NEGOTIATIONS AND IN THE CESSATION OF THE PRODUCTION OF MASS DESTRUCTION WEAPONS. SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM AND MARXIST-LENINISM CLEARLY BESTED PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM DURING THE KADAR VISIT AS THE AGREED BASES FOR GDR-HUNGARIAN COOPERATION. KADAR IN GENERAL SHIED AWAY FROM INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS IN HIS PUBLIC ADDRESSES STATING THAT NEGOTIATIONS WERE THE ORDER OF THE DAY IN HANDLING RELATIONS AMONG STATES OF DIFFERENT SOCIAL ORDERS. END SUMMARY.

1. NEAR THE CONCLUSION OF HIS VISIT TO EAST BERLIN MARCH 24, HUNGARIAN PARTY LEADER KADAR SIGNED A NEW TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP, COOPERATION AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE WITH SED PARTY CHIEF HONECKER. THE TREATY SIGNING WAS BY FAR THE MAJOR EVENT OF KADAR'S FOUR-DAY STAY IN EAST BERLIN INTERSPERSED AS IT WAS AMONG A VISIT TO THE BERLIN CABLE FACTORY AND OFFICIAL LUNCHEONS AND DINNERS. OFFICIAL MEETINGS BETWEEN KADAR AND HONECKER WERE DESCRIBED IN THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE AS HAVING TAKEN PLACE IN "AN ATMOSPHERE OF SINCERE FRIENDSHIP AND CORDIALITY".

2. THE NEW TREATY REPLACES ONE CONCLUDED IN 1967 AND APPEARS TO BE THE FIRST IN A SERIES WHICH LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 BERLIN 05644 01 OF 02 310631Z

THE GDR EXPECTS TO CONCLUDE WITH OTHER EAST EUROPEAN STATES IN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS, E.G. POLAND AND THE CSSR. JUDGING BY THE GDR-HUNGARIAN TREATY TEXT PUBLISHED IN NEUES DEUTSCHLAND ON MARCH 26, THE NEW TREATIES WILL USE THE GDR-SOVIET 1975 TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AS A DEPARTURE POINT SINCE SOME OF THE ARTICLES SEEM TO BE TAKEN FROM THAT TEXT WITH VARIATIONS IN THE REMAINDER OF THE GDR-HUNGARIAN TEXT TO ACCORD WITH THE PECULIARITIES OF THE GDR'S RELATIONS WITH HUNGARY.

3. THE OSTENSIBLE REASON FOR CONCLUDING NEW TREATIES WITH HUNGARY AND POLAND ARE TO RECOGNIZE THE CHANGES IN THE EUROPEAN SITUATION WHICH HAVE OCCURRED SINCE THE PREVIOUS TREATIES WERE CONCLUDED IN 1967. AMONG THESE CHANGES FROM THE GDR'S VIEWPOINT ARE ITS RECOGNITION BY A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES, MAINLY WESTERN, IN THAT PERIOD; THE GDR'S ACCEPTANCE INTO THE UNITED NATIONS; AND THE RECOGNITION OF THE GDR

BORDER WITH THE FRG THROUGH THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT OF 1975. THE LAST POINT IN MADE CLEAR IN THE GDR-HUNGARIAN TREATY BY REFERENCE IN BOTH THE PREAMBLE AND IN ARTICLE SIX TO THE INVIOABILITY OF BORDERS IN EUROPE AND BY THE READINESS OF MEMBERS OF THE WARSAW PACT TO DEFEND AGGRESSION AGAINST THE BORDERS OF ANY MEMBER STATE. SIMILAR EMPHASIS UPON THE SANCTITY OF EUROPEAN BORDERS, IS MADE IN THE GDR-SOVIET 1975 TREATY. GONE FROM THE TEXT HOWEVER IS THE OFFENSIVE LANGUAGE OF 1967 RELATING TO "WEST GERMAN MILITARISM AND REVANCHISM". IT HAS BEEN REPLACED BY THE RESOLUTION OF THE TREATY'S SIGNERS TO RESIST "ANY OCCURRENCE OF REVANCHISM AND MILITARISM" WITH THE GOAL OF PROMOTING THE "CONSOLIDATION OF THE AGREEMENTS WHICH SUPPORT EUROPEAN SECURITY".

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PAGE 01 BERLIN 05644 02 OF 02 310619Z
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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 2 BERLIN 5644

4. THE GDR-HUNGARIAN TREATY REFERS TO THE NEED FOR BOTH COUNTRIES TO DEVELOP AND EXPAND THEIR RELATIONS WITH WEST BERLIN, ALONG THE LINES LAID

DOWN IN THE 1975 GDR-SOVIET TREATY AND REFERENCE TO BERLIN AS A "SPECIAL POLITICAL ENTITY" IN THE 1967 TREATY HAS BEEN DROPPED. REFERENCE IS MADE INSTEAD TO THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT OF 1971 AND THE EASTERN EMPHASIS UPON THE INTERPRETATION THAT WEST BERLIN IS NOT A PART OF THE FRG AND IS NOT GOVERNED BY IT.

5. THE TERMS "SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM" AND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 02 BERLIN 05644 02 OF 02 310619Z

"PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM" ARE BOTH USED IN THE NEW GDR-HUNGARIAN TREATY. THE FIRST APPEARS IN ARTICLE ONE WHICH DEALS WITH INTER-GOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS AND PRESUMABLY REFERS TO COOPERATION AT THE GOVERNMENTAL LEVEL IN A BILATERAL SENSE. PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM IS USED IN THE PREAMBLE TO DENOTE MUTUAL GDR AND HUNGARIAN ACCEPTANCE OF THIS COMMUNIST PRINCIPLE AS A MOTIVATING FORCE IN THEIR FOREIGN POLICIES AND A BASIS FOR CONCLUSION OF THE CURRENT AGREEMENT. THE REFERENCE HERE WOULD APPEAR TO ENCOMPASS PARTY TO PARTY RELATIONSHIPS. IN THE SPEECHES PUBLISHED ON THE KADAR VISIT, ONLY GDR MINISTER PRESIDENT STOPH SPOKE OF "SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM" AS A BINDING FORCE BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. KADAR HIMSELF USED "PRELETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM" AND THE SERVING OF THE NATIONAL INTERESTS OF BOTH COUNTRIES AS THE BASIS FOR THE NEW TREATY. THIS SEEMS CONSISTENT WITH KADAR'S POSITION AS PARTY LEADER AND NOT AS HEAD OF STATE. HONECKER SPOKE OF THE "NEW LEVEL" OF DEVELOPMENT BETWEEN THE GDR AND HUNGARY AS WELL AS THE "IMPORTANT CHANGES IN THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION" AS THE FOUNDATIONS OF A "NEW" GDR-HUNGARIAN RELATIONSHIP. LIKE THE TREATY TEXT, THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE MENTIONS BOTH CONCEPTS USING PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM IN THE CONTEXT OF "INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION" AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM IN THE CONTEXT OF INTER-STATE RELATIONSHIPS. THE 1967 GDR-HUNGARIAN TREATY REFERRED ONLY TO SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM.

6. IN AN INTERESTING HISTORICAL REFERENCE, THE NEW TREATY REFERS IN THE PREAMBLE TO THE FACT THAT THE GDR HAS FULFILLED ITS COMMITMENTS (REPARATIONS TO THE SOVIET UNION) UNDER THE POTSDAM AGREEMENT OF 1945 AND THAT IS IS RECOGNIZED AS AN INDEPENDENT AND SOVEREIGN SOCIALIST STATE. THERE IS ALSO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 BERLIN 05644 02 OF 02 310619Z

REFERENCE IN ARTICLE ONE TO "RESPECT FOR NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND INDEPENDENCE, AND TO NON-INTERVENTION IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER STATES," PRINCIPLES WHICH ARE CONTAINED IN THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT, THE 1975 GDR-SOVIET TREATY AND THE 1967 GDR-HUNGARIAN TREATY WHICH IS BEING REPLACED.

7. THE SUBSTANCE OF GDR-HUNGARIAN RELATIONS WHICH IS TO BE FOSTERED IN THE NEW TREATY INCLUDE, ACCORDING TO THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE, COOPERATION IN ECONOMIC PLANNING THROUGH CEMA, SPECIALISATION OF PRODUCTION TO MEET EACH OTHER'S NEEDS, SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL COOPERATION, AND IN THE RATIONALIZATION OF PRODUCTION, GOALS SIMILAR TO THOSE OF THE 1967 TREATY.

8. DUE HOMAGE IS PAID IN THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE TO THE FACT THAT THE NEW TREATY WILL BE CONCLUDED (AFTER AN EXCHANGE OF RATIFICATIONS IN BUDAPEST) DURING THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY YEAR OF THE SOVIET OCTOBER REVOLUTION. HIGH HOPES ARE ALSO EXPRESSED THAT US-SOVIET NEGOTIATIONS WILL SUCCEED IN THE SALT TALKS AND IN BRINGING A HALT TO THE PRODUCTION OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION. SUPPORT IS GIVEN TO THE SOVIET PROPOSALS FOR A MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT, AND SOLIDARITY IS EXPRESSED FOR THE PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA. THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE CONCLUDES THAT THE STRUGGLE OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, "OF ALL REVOLUTIONARY FORCES IN OUR TIME" IS INSEPARABLE FROM THE INFLUENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION.

9. COMMENT: KADAR'S VISIT TO EAST BERLIN WAS USED BY THE GDR TO SUMMON UP SUPPORT FOR ITS POSITION TOWARD THE FRG, IMPLICITY IN THE NEW TREATY AND EXPLICITLY IN SOME OF THE SPEECHES DURING THE VISIT. THE TONE OF THESE REMARKS ABOUT THE FRG WERE POSITIVE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 04 BERLIN 05644 02 OF 02 310619Z

HOWEVER AND EMPHASIZE THE DESIRE FOR THE TWO GERMAN STATES TO NEGOTIATE THEIR DIFFERENCES. AT THE SAME TIME, KADAR SEEMED RELUCTANT TO DESCRIBE GDR-HUNGARIAN RELATIONS AS AT A NEW LEVEL, AS HIS GDR HOSTS DID, AND APPEARED INCLINED TO ACKNOWLEDGE MAINLY THE MUTUAL BENEFIT WHICH THESE RELATIONS HAVE PRODUCED IN THE PAST AND ARE EXPECTED TO PRODUCE IN THE FUTURE. THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE SPEAKS, FOR EXAMPLE, OF THE PROJECTION THAT BY 1980,

A THIRD OF THE GOODS EXCHANGED BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES WILL BE THOSE PRODUCED THROUGH SPECIALIZED COOPERATION.

IN HIS MAJOR SPEECH IN THE PALACE OF THE REPUBLIC ON THE SIGNING OF THE NEW TREATY, KADAR MENTIONED PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM ONLY BRIEFLY, PREFERRING THE TERMINOLOGY OF MARXIST-LENINIST DOCTRINE, WHICH HE REFERRED TO SEVERAL TIMES, AS THE MOVING FORCE BEHIND THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. HONECKER, ON THE SAME OCCASION, DEVOTED A PARAGRAPH TO PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM WHICH HE SAID HAS APPLICABILITY ON ALL LEVELS OF THE GDR-HUNGARIAN RELATIONSHIP, INCLUDING "MUTUAL HELP". THERE APPEARS TO BE A DIFFERENCE OF VIEW REFLECTED ON THIS SUBJECT. IT APPEARS DOUBTFUL THAT THE NEW GDR-HUNGARIAN TREATY BREAKS MUCH NEW GROUND IN THEIR RELATIONSHIP.POLANSKY

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